

Message Text

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ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 /019 R

DRAFTED BY PA:JCHAMBERLAIN:JC

APPROVED BY PA/M:CFREEMAN

S/S RGAMBLE

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PA, S/S, S/PRS

-----131634Z 103459 /47

O 131613Z MAY 77 ZFF4

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL FRIDAY
MAY 13 HEADED "A RISKY NUCLEAR POLICY."

2. THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO BE ATTEMPTING A
VERY COMPLICATED BILLIARD SHOT IN ITS NUCLEAR NONPROLIFER-
ATION POLICY. THE PRESIDENT IS SIMULTANEOUSLY TRYING TO
PLACATE THE EUROPEANS AND THE JAPANESE AND GET THEM TO
FOREGO THE BREEDER-REACTOR AND PLUTONIUM-REPROCESSING
TECHNOLOGIES. HE IS ALSO TRYING TO PERSUADE THEM NOT TO
CONTRACT TO EXPORT THESE TECHNOLOGIES TO OTHER COUNTRIES
AND--AT THE SAME TIME--TRYING TO ASSURE THE WOULD-BE
IMPORTERS, MOSTLY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, THAT THEY ARE NOT
BEING VICTIMIZED BY A CONSPIRACY OF INDUSTRIALISTS WHO
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WANT TO DENY THEM MODERN MEANS TO ADVANCEMENT.

3. AFTER SOME CLUMSY (AND VAIN) EFFORTS IN THE FIRST FEW
WEEKS OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO GET TWO NOTORIOUS EXPORT
DEALS TURNED AROUND--THE GERMAN SALE TO BRAZIL AND THE
FRENCH SALE TO PAKISTAN OF EXTREMELY DANGEROUS BOMB-PRONE
NUCLEAR PLANT AND TECHNOLOGY--THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMED TO

ADOPT A NEW STRATEGY. THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED HIS OWN

DESIRE TO DEFER, PERHAPS INDEFINITELY, WORK IN THIS COUNTRY ON THE CLINCH RIVER BREEDER-REACTOR AND THE BARNWELL REPROCESSING PLANT. BUT HE SEEMED SUDDENLY AWASH IN DEFERENCE AND COURTESY AND UNDERSTANDING TOWARD THOSE WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND JAPAN THAT SEEMD HELL-BENT ON GOING FORWARD WITH THE BREEDER AND, MUCH MORE IMPORTANTLY, WITH REPROCESSING PLANTS. HE PRODUCED SOME PROPOSED LEGISLATION DEALING WITH OUR OWN EXPORT POLICY THAT MANY PEOPLE FELT WAS TOO MILD TO HAVE MUCH RESTRAINING IMPACT ON THE NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES OF OUR FRIENDS. HE FREED UP SOME STALLED SHIPMENTS OF HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM FOR USE IN FOREIGN-RESEARCH PROJECTS. HE WAS SWEET REASON ITSELF.

4. ONE WAY TO LOOK AT ALL THIS IS TO SAY HE SIMPLY HAS SOLD THE PASS. ANOTHER WAY IS TO SAY THAT MR. CARTER HAS FINALLY RECOGNIZED THE FACT THAT BOTH THE DANGEROUS CIVILIAN TECHNOLOGY AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEMSELVES ARE GOING INEVITABLY TO SPREAD SO THAT TRYING TO STOP THE SPREAD IS POINTLESS AND UNNECESSARILY DIVISIVE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. CARTER ADMINISTRATION PEOPLE ARGUE THAT BOTH THESE ASSESSMENTS ARE WRONG. RATHER, THEY SAY, THE PRESIDENT HAS RECOGNIZED, IN THE WORDS OF A WHITE HOUSE FACT SHEET, THAT "THERE IS NO SUCH THINK AS AN EFFECTIVE UNILATERAL NONPROLIFERATION POLICY." FOR THAT REASON, THE ARGUMENT GOES, HE DOES NOT FAVOR SOME OF THE HARSHER MEASURES CURRENTLY BEING PROPOSED. HE IS ASKING THE EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE FOR TIME--TIME TO DEMONSTRATE THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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PLUTONIUM REPROCESSING IS ECONOMICALLY QUESTIONABLE AND TIME TO WORK OUT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN ASSURED FUEL SUPPLY AND THE STORAGE OF SPENT FUEL, IN WAYS THAT WOULD NOT COMPROMISE ANY NATION'S INDEPENDENCE. HE BELIEVES, AND RIGHTLY SO, NOT JUST THAT THESE THINGS ARE EMINENTLY POSSIBLE BUT ALSO THAT THERE IS NO PRACTICAL NEED OR URGENCY WHATEVER FOR THE EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE TO UNDERTAKE THE ACTUAL REPROCESSING OF SPENT FUEL FOR MANY YEARS TO COME--IF AT ALL.

5. DID THE PRESIDENT MAKE ANY HEADWAY ON THIS GAOL WHEN HE WAS IN EUROPE? PRESUMABLY MR. CARTER WANTED MORE FROM THE CONFERENCE THAN A PLEDGE TO GET TOGETHER AND STUDY THE PROBLEM. WE NOTE WITH INTEREST THAT GERMAN DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BREEDER REACTOR HAS COMPELLED BONN TO SLOW DOWN ITS RESEARCH (EVEN AS A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE HERE HAS GONE AGAINST MR. CARTER'S WISH AND VOTED TO CONTINUE THE CLINCH RIVER BREEDER PROJECT). THESE BACKS AND FORTHS SUGGEST THAT NO

ONE WILL KNOW IF THE CARTER APPROACH IS WORKING FOR SOME TIME, DEPENDING AS IT DOES ON COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS AND DECISIONS THAT CAN ONLY COME OUT OF PROLONGED NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE POINT IS THIS: COOPERATIVENESS, UNDERSTANDING AND SWEET REASON CAN ADD UP TO A VERY RISKY STRATEGY. THE ADMINISTRATION COULD END UP SWEET-REASONING THE EUROPEANS AND THE JAPANESE RIGHT INTO A FEELING THAT IT IS PERFECTLY OKAY WITH US IF THEY PURSUE THE DANGEROUS AND AMBIGUOUS TECHNOLOGIES. THE TEST OF THE CARTER STRATEGY, IN OTHER WORDS, WILL BE HOW IT USES THE TIME IT GETS, HOW INTENSELY IT WILL GO ABOUT DEMONSTRATING THAT THERE ARE INFINITELY BETTER ALTERNATIVES FOR THE EUROPEANS, THE JAPANESE AND REST OF THE WORLD THAN THOSE NOW BEING PURSUED. (END TEXT.) CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PRESS COMMENTS, POLICIES, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 13-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE108295
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JCHAMBERLAIN:JC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770169-0489
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770561/aaaabzvi.tel
Line Count: 131
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: e9b3a494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2532938
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, OVIP, TECH, US, XX, WASHINGTON POST, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e9b3a494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009